Ismail Beg in a taxi, accompanied by two or three heavily-armed bodyguards. 574

A comparatively large group of men in the town are casually employed as laborers or porters. It has already been noticed that a number work for the government on road repair, and others are called for a variety of situations, for example, by a mason who found himself short of help. Some are of higher social rank than their fellows, such as Anwar Salah, the son of a "respectable" craftsman, who acted as a foreman over the roadworkers, and was probably hired not because of skill but because he commanded the respect of the workers and could thus effectively transmit the desires of the engineers. Aside from this, the occupations of laborer and porter are more or less interchangeable, and a number work in the bazar carrying goods for the merchants and craftsmen. Among the upper class families of Iraq, particularly those of Ottoman heritage, it is socially forbidden for an educated man to carry anything of weight in public. Those who violate this prohibition are held to be either mad or, more importantly, not real gentlemen. Any government official who desires anything large moved from one place to another must have recourse to a servant or porter. In addition to the professionals, adult men, the shopkeepers' youngsters have been mentioned in employment with these tasks, and any visitor of higher social standing to the bazar quickly finds himself accompanied by one or more. 464 482 482 554 [183] 464 857 482

because of the nature of this work, unemployment is frequent for this group of workmen, both laborers and porters, but they do not number more than forty or fifty persons for the town as a whole. 464

An extensive group of persons, both men and women, are employed in the town as servants, but it would be difficult to arrive at any exact figure, inasmuch as this group is always changing its numbers, almost from day to day. The term "servant" itself seems to comprehend two classifications, but they do not appear to have any precise social differentiation, and are only hazily distinguished in the popular mind. First, there are permanent servants who receive wages in addition to their keep and who reside in the town throughout the year, either at the houses of their employers or in dwellings of their own. Most of these work in one way or another for the government, a number in the government buildings, for example, the qaimaqam's doorman in the serai or the "janitor" in the primary school, others for the army as orderlies and kitchen help, and still others as household servants of government and military personnel. The qaimaqam's household has three attached to it, a female cook, the widowed sister of a merchant, and two men. The men do a little gardening, perform errands and other menial tasks, and serve male visitors in the diwankhana or the garden. To such persons as these a little of the sorrowful treatment of the professional servants of the cities, such as Baghdad, has been 357 464 [465] 357 554

brought in by government officials and their wives, but it is not obvious. Clapping the hands to summon a servant, rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or prohibiting them to use of the toilet facilities of the master are the topmost pointed examples. However, servants even in this category understand little of the servile behavior associated with those of the city. "It is comical," said a official. "My servant speaks to me like an old friend, an often tells me what to do. When I try to curse him for something, he argues with me and tells me that I am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he never steals anyting, and tells everyone in the neighborhood what a great man I am."

The servic of others is by no means strange or uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the second category of not a wage-earner or a menial, who receives food and edging, and occasionally "gifts" of money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as khal, "uncle," or xalk, "aunt," with such a retainer is commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Remus or "Aunt" Mandy prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people come from the villages, and their residence in Rowandus is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and again. Many of the women have quarreled with their

children, six girls and a boy), and various household necessities, particularly firewood and kerosene. He also has to pay taxes on his house and his shop, as well as maintain two children in school. Finally, there is a variety of miscellaneous purchases, including gifts for his wife, an animal for Jejuni Ramazan, tobacco for cigarettes (his wife is an inveterate smoker), and benevolent collections. All things considered, Fatah-Ullah's cash profit at the end of a typical year is not extensive, perhaps ten or twenty dinars, and this sum is never invested nor is it used to expand his business, but is hoarded in cash and removed from circulation.

In completing this discussion of merchants, craftsmen, and laborers in Rowandux, it is convenient to reserve until later persons, such as the midwives, as well as a number of others whose employment is only casual or in the service of religion, for they have little real economic significance in the community. Of those here treated, some notes of their origins have been made, and their derivation from older families in the town, from the villages, or from without the district itself, as in the case of Shakir Effendi and the merchant Fatah-Ullah who moved in years past from Sulaymaniya. It is important to realize that all of these occupations, even those of the craftsmen, are so simple that almost any man can try his hand at them after the briefest of apprenticeships, and, indeed, the occupational histories of a large number in the town are extremely varied. There are no unions or guilds, and

nothing that resembles a formal apprenticeship, nor does 463
there appear to be any pressure exerted against a man who 464 ●
cares to attempt this or that employment. Occupations, it 467
is true, tend to remain within families, as has been seen
more particularly in the case of the masons, but it is far
from an exclusive rule. There is some hierarchy in trades, 554
and an unclearly defined distinction between callings which 463
are menial and those which are not. A successful kalekshi
or meat-roaster might well become a merchant, but the
merchant's son would rarely become a kalekshi. There is 166
also some exchange of persons between town and villages,
those seeking their fortunes in Rowandus and those,
successful or unsuccessful, returning to the land, but
migration from the town itself outside the district is
very limited. This does not apply to the area as a
whole, and large numbers of the Kurdish people of northern
Iraq, both men and women, migrate from their villages to
the cities. The Kurdish hamal or porter in Baghdad, as [482]
well as the Kurdish prostitute, are well known. [519]
manent population of Rowandus, however, with its core of
older families from the days before the first World War,
seems extremely stable.

It remains to notice those people who constitute 556
the wealthier class of townspeople, and who, although some 565
are merchants, need not engage in labor unless they so
choose. A large number of people possess minor amounts
of capital or smaller holdings, such as Fatah-Ullah, but

he himself is considered a tenant farmer — the land belonging to an absentee landowner, a tribal chief, or some privileged section of the local community. The typical situation is for the freeholding farmers to have retained what is generally called *tribal* organization (see below), whereas the tenant farmer has no clear political affiliation, but is largely subject to the control of the landowner. This dichotomy between the tribal, freeholding farmer and the tenant, more or less dependent on a capitalist for land and other privileges, is basic to much of the following discussion. The dichotomy is clearly made by Kurds themselves, and is associated with the co-variance of other institutional forms.

The characteristic tendency on the land which does not directly belong to the farmer who is using it, is a progressive delegation of rights. This influences the division of labor and the form of work-gangs in the fields, and reinforces class differences.

In the tribal village, each farmer generally works his own fields with own equipment, or may hire some outside labor to assist him at certain times of year. Mutual borrowing, or renting, of livestock may be resorted to. The grazing area belongs to the village as a whole, and herding the animals is generally delegated to one or more full-time shepherds of low status, who may serve the whole village.

The land of the typical tenant village belongs to an absentee landowner, who collects 1/10—1/3 of the cereal crop by right. The old residents of the village have informal inherited right of use of certain fields. These are not inalienable. Any person needing more land may apply to the landowner, and if he can demonstrate that he is able to use more, he will be allotted fallow land that formerly belonged to absent co-villagers. When no fallow land is available and the need is great, e. g. due to increase in the size of a given family, any type of land may be transferred. Theoretically, the landowner has the right to evict any one for any reason — though this is a power he rarely exercises, since it generally precipitates conflicts and disrupts village unity.

Not infrequently, the more well-to-do tenant farmer will in fact do no farming himself, but will hire labor in his fields for a share of the crop, or other payments. Such payments are traditionally

464 465 stipulated, e. g. for reaping 1/6 of the wheat crop, 1/3 of barley
for plowing, food plus 100 fils/day (= 2 shillings)
or 150 fils/day and no food.

427 The large landowner may rent out the rigths to a certain village or area for a limited period of time to some intermediary capitalist for a small fee plus 1/2 of the intermediary capitalist's profits. This intermediary is then free to stipulate the share of the tenants' crop he wishes to collect as rent for the year. The number of non-productive links in the chain from the laborer on the fields to the ultimate landowner may thus become quite considerable, and the

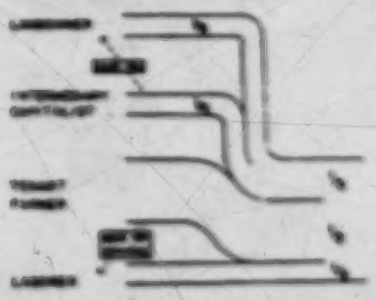

Diagram No. 1. Shows in division of a cereal crop

division of the crop might be as illustrated in Diagram 1. More frequently, however, the intermediary capitalist is missing in the hierarchy, and the landowner, collecting direct from his tenants, is content with the smaller, traditional share of 1/3 of the crop on un-irrigated land.

456, 241 At harvest time, a characteristic work-gang in the grainfields of a tenant village will consequently consist of 3—10 men, as per- made up of migratory labor, cutting the grain, and young women carrying it up the threshing place. Threshing and winnowing, on the other hand, are generally the work of only two men; plowing is usually a solitary occupation.

312 249 Attending to the irrigation of the tobacco-fields usually follows a different pattern. The various farmers who share a certain watering system either used it each in turn, or one man among them may take on the major responsibility.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 NA11 Kurd NA11

take on the major responsibility. In tobacco picking, all the women and children of the village take part.

Rice cultivation usually takes place far from the village, if it is pursued at all. Rice requires a quite well developed irrigation system, connected with a dependable perennial stream, usually in the main valley bottom. The growing season is long, generally said to last some seven months. Persons living close to the fields are hired to tend the rice, and 1/3 of the crop is collected by the landowner as tax. It is therefore an expensive crop, but is considered to be the finest kind of food, and has considerable prestige value. In Table I, village status groups are indicated by the size of individual rice crops.

ECONOMIC CLASSES.

The system of progressive delegation of land rights in the tenant villages, referred to above with respect to the basic food crop, is in considerable measure responsible for the lack of efficiency in agricultural techniques and the low level of capital investment in equipment. Each person in the chain from laborer to landowner is only interested in obtaining his part return, not in further investments. An example might illustrate the point.

Threshing is generally done with six oxen, without any mechanical appliance or equipment. There does however exist a quite efficient thresher (mentioned by Leach, 1940) which could greatly reduce the necessary expenditure of man-hour. The value of this crusher was given as £ 12, its life approximately 20 years. It is generally considered that 2 males working 3 days with the thresher do an equivalent of 6 oxen working 10 days without it. If we, to simplify comparison, equate the work value of 1 male with that of an ox, that gives a reduction to 1/3 in man hours and 1/12 in expended energy. Though the gain thus seems [illegible] spectacular, the thresher is in fact very rarely seen. The laborer [illegible] has no capital to invest in equipment. The tenant farmer pays the laborer the customary share for doing the threshing, whether it is one way or an other, and is certainly not interested in assuming any further expenses. Continuing up the hierarchy, there is no greater incentive to such investments for the intermediary or the landowner. Consider-

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Land. The land potentially available for tobacco cultivation."

In roughly speaking all the arable land that can be effectively irrigated - its extent being limited both by the configuration of the land and the available water supply. Here immediately there are complications. The irrigation system as at present arranged may serve a number of purposes 249 312 621

1. Irrigation of rice cultivation - which in most villages appear to be a personal plot pertaining to the Agha alone and not a tenant's holding in the ordinary sense.

2. Periodic irrigation of the vegetable gardens. In any re-organisation this would have to be maintained.

3. Periodic irrigation of existing tobacco areas.

4. In some villages (e.g. Dargala) for driving the mill, which is owned either by the Agha himself or a near relative.

Any reorganisation of such a system would affect a number of different individuals whose immediate interests may be directly conflicting. The Agha for instance is hardly likely to abandon his rice plot which is his personal property merely to provide his tenants with more water to grow tobacco; but on the other hand if he reserves the whole of the tobacco cultivation for himself the tenants whose land is interfered with will have a justifiable grievance. It might well be found in fact that in any particular village the rearrangement of the water supply so as to provide a greater tobacco acreage would in practice involve a completely new allocation of land holdings to all the inhabitants, a reform which would certainly be very difficult to carry out. It may be significant that at Beles where such a re-organisation of cultivation has in fact been brought about the Assyrian tenants were new arrivals in the district and there was no old established system of tenancy rights supported by an ancestral tradition.

A further question of interest is the problem of "marginal" land. It is true that the land configuration, somewhat similar to that of the Alpine villages of the Bernese Oberland, sets a definite limit to the area that can be cultivated, but on the other hand there seem to be a number of small marginal areas, at present under scrub, which might be brought into cultivation if the available water were [illegible] repay the extra labour involved. The 'rights' over such uncultivated land rest at present exclusively with the Agha. 928 311

Labour. The labour available to the labour of the tenant cultivators and their families; it would seem that the substitution of tobacco for cereals would affect the balance rather than the volume of work required. Under the present system the wheat harvest comes in 464 311

• 464 241 late June and threshing proceeds steadily from July to October. The much smaller rice harvest comes about the end of September. Hill land wheat and so also, threshing could be finished by mid-September leaving labour free for the main work of the tobacco harvest. On the other hand the tobacco plant requires a good deal of fiddly attention during the early stages of its growth which coincide with the wheat harvest. It is possible therefore that any radical increase in the tobacco cultivation is dependent upon the introduction of improved methods of threshing. A much greater difficulty arises from the fact that the change in labour requirements would not be equally distributed as between different households. Whereas at present each household has approximately the same programme of work, the situation would be greatly complicated if one man's land was devoted to tobacco and his neighbour's only to wheat. The difficulty could be avoided if all the tobacco cultivation were "owned" by the Agha; - the commoner being under obligation to work for his Agha but not for a fellow commoner. Such a development would never be countenanced by the Government however since the system would be regarded as "exploitation" of the tribesmen by his chief.*

247 696 Capital. The additional capital required for tobacco as opposed to normal cultivation is not very significant. The Government is prepared to supply seed and expert advice; so far as I know the process of drying does not require any special mechanical apparatus. The re-organisation of the irrigation system would of course be an initial "capital" expenditure for the community concerned.

Technique. On the other hand the more statement that Government is prepared to offer expert advice rather overemphasizes the social aspects of the technical problem. I have already indicated that the native Kurdish tobacco sold in the traditional manner results in a gaining enterprise that is quite welcome for the purposes of a subsistence farmer. In order to produce a saleable product, the farmer has to be taught entirely new methods. The cultivator is here up against several types of difficulty. Firstly there is a simple conservative resistance, the dislike of new methods, not simply because they are new but because the practitioner in the old methods thinks he knows best. But there are other difficulties of a much more intrinsic kind. Here is an example.

247 609 643 The Government are prepared to supply approved village with a trained expert to supervise the growing and harvesting of tobacco. Such a man was supplied to the village of Balak. He was a Kurd, but a foreigner from the plains and by academic standards a man of low moral

* In Jerai, where an [illegible] the place of the Agha, the tobacco crop is owned by the Church, and difficulties over individual labour requirements thus avoided. But then a Christian Malay is obviously not the same thing as a tribal Agha!

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

being self sufficient in his production, trading only that which is surplus to his requirements. Under the new conditions the local production of cereals will be inadequate and the difference will have to be made up by trading tobacco for wheat. Thus for the first time the ordinary commoner will be forced to evaluate his basic foodstuffs in terms of a cash economy - and this may have serious consequences. Under present conditions tobacco is an enormously valuable (in terms of cash) compared with any other Kurdish production that even well favoured villagers may come to rely on this crop to the exclusion of all others, thus making the welfare of the community dependent upon fluctuations in the price of tobacco on the English market, - hardly a desirable development.

The social consequences of an increase in tobacco cultivation may be equally drastic. Consider for instance the matter of roads. In a previous section I have suggested that the commoner normally pays his Agha 50% of the yield of his lands and this is evidently no great hardship since the commoner family lives satisfactorily on the remaining 50%. However in terms of cash the rental does not represent very much - at 1938 prices, a ton of wheat would purchase locally only just over 50 kilos of sugar. But under the new system not only will the commoner be unable to satisfy his own food requirements without resort to trade, but a 50% rental would, relatively speaking, be worth its weight in gold, - with the added consequence that the commoner who tenders tobacco will for the first time find himself under a direct tax obligation to the Government. There is little doubt that in such circumstances 'waste' would be reduced. In my view the general levelling up of financial status as between commoner and Agha which would result from this process would be extremely fatal to the existing tribal organisation.

In the analogy with the Lowland scene the ultimate line of evolution is indeed clear. The Agha finds it increasingly difficult to maintain his obligations of kinship and hospitality, he falls into debt and eventually by some trick of the law the tribal land is mortgaged to pay the bill. Thereafter the ex-Agha is merely a landless serf in personal bond with the community - the process of tribal dissolution may be all complete and purposeless be reported as complete.

From the Government's point of view such a development is not [illegible] A completely detribalised community is in many respects easier to administer than a tribal one, at least in the short term view. But there are still wider factors affecting the situation. The labour for the Khabab oil fields is largely supplied

* This is theoretically impossible, since by Iraq definition tribal land is mir land. Nevertheless the process of alienation has in the past clearly taken place in the plains and foothill areas.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

by Arbitrational Banks from the Baidawell area. Similar industrial developments further north would provide a labour market for the Banks of the Bohtl line. Interestingly the cheapest labour is that which is least organised. Once again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external contact may be expected to affect the basic economic organisation of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same set of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole.

In general the services for exchange within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of cultivation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different households, and trading contacts within the group are scarcely necessary.

Crafts

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that carding and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the wool is prepared and spun independently by the women of each household. The material is then washed up into cloth by the weaver in return for payment either in cash or kind.*

Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Balwah and Dargalu the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the herdsman was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families whose flocks he tended contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of 'joint ownership', each one knows his own sheep. This fact being amply demonstrated at shearing time every morning and evening when the womenfolk go out to the grazing and pick out their own particular property. In other villages conditions are rather different. For [illegible] part of the community separates off during the summer to form an independent Kele, which tends to the cattle exclusively. I have no

* This idealises the existing conditions. It is valid for Dargalu but some of the other villagers now have no weaver of their own. The men still nearly all wear Sherkah cloth, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Rowanduz and Bohtl.